1: Orans E-5 (1957-1958) 1965
AW42 Santal AW42

63
184 variation and specialization do exist even though there are few sharp boundary lines. There is one regular social event
224 which reflects and intensifies regional cultural and social inter-
628 connection; this event is an annual hunt followed by a large all-male gathering outside some village where performances largely humorous and/or "obscene" (in their eyes as well as mine) take place. The participants consist of teams generally from several villages within a vicinity, and they compete with other similarly constituted teams for the favor of the assembled
[273] throng. Like many such gatherings, it terminates with rice beer.

In most of the territory occupied by the southern Santal, game is so scarce that the hunting aspect of this yearly event has become *pro forma*. After the hunt and its rituals, the various teams proceed in a march-dance parade through different villages as they make their way toward the final gathering place
[534] where performances will be held. Vigorous drum-beating marks
[535] the progress of their procession, and the characteristic Santal male strutting in dance is particularly pronounced. Any game
[192] that has been shot is borne aloft on pole stretchers. The entire event is known as *Sendra*.

[692] Several of my informants as well as the literature maintain that serious discussions of Santal customs and even settling of disputes that have escaped solution within the judicial units occur after the hunt. This was not the case at the one *Sendra* I attended. However this may be, the *Sendra* remains the largest and territorially the widest gathering of Santal, sometimes bringing together more than a thousand Santal living within a radius of about fifty miles.

596 Still to be considered are the intertwined components of the
592 extended and nuclear family. The term "extended family" is unfortunately one which has often been used very loosely; it

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592 sometimes refers to three generations occupying a single house-
596 hold with joint control and merging of all income; sometimes income stipulations are disregarded; some speak of the extended family exclusively in terms of joint income, and some regard any three-generational family unit that occasionally gathers together or in which there is some financial cooperation as "extended." It is not always clear which criteria are being applied, and the different uses involve partially independent variables. To avoid possible ambiguity, each of these variables will be discussed separately with appropriate reference to their interconnections.

In the traditional farming situation, Santal living in the same house consist of a patrilineal group of kin plus wives, and income is typically part of a single fund managed officially by the eldest male, i.e., the father, or the eldest brother if the father is deceased. Income goes into the family coffers—whatever its source. However, a young married son living apart may not manage his own income; he might have recently married and had a house built for himself and his new wife while continuing to work his father's or his brother's land. Such arrangements may persist until there is an occasion for a division of the family land among the various members. Santal families tend to remain together as both a household and an economic unit until the death of the father. However, the marriage of a son is frequently sufficient to force a division of the land before the father's death. The Santal always attribute such divisions to the quarrelsome nature of women, as do many other patrilineal peoples. However this may be, the nuclear family begins to emerge as a unit in its own right immediately after marriage and to provide the lines of eventual fracture. In the village of Fanderkuta, less than 15 per cent of the 48 households (i.e.,

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596 seven) were extended in the sense of consisting of an undivided family of three generations with pooled income. There were also five households in which a mother had moved in with one of her divided married sons. The mere fact that the average life span of the Santal is relatively short and the fact that families generally fracture after the father's death are sufficient to account for the preponderance of the nuclear family.

592 Each economically undivided family has a part of the house set apart for the purpose of worship and sometimes also for the storing of rice and other valuables. A wall extending nearly
[192] across the house divides the largest room of the house in two; it is the smaller portion which is set apart, and it is known as
592 the "inner room" (*bhitar*; inside, as in Hindi). On almost all
769 festivals, offerings of rice beer are made here to the patrilineal
[192] ancestors, accompanied by prayers asking that the family be spared sickness (*handi boŋga* = rice beer worship). At this offering the head of the household usually presides, accompanied by one or more male relatives. Offerings may be brought by females of the household if they are not menstruating at the time, but females not of the household may never enter on the grounds that "one never knows their condition." "Rice beer worship," with its offerings to the ancestors, is obviously expressive of the bonds within the extended family, but *Maraŋ Buru*, the tribal deity, also receives his offering during ancestor worship, expressing the unity of the tribe.

556 Aside from the interconnected strands of kinship and territory, there is another socially relevant characteristic—wealth. As a social marker, like the inheritance of tribal offices, it provides social positions not attainable by all in the normal life
[581] process. Much will be said of its divisive effects later; it is appropriate to note here that it operates in establishing mar-

2: Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

V. HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THEIR OWN HOME

a. Setting up a household.

When husband and wife have been separated from his parents, they set up a household for themselves. They ask the village headman to get a house-site. They give him beer and food. The husband cuts trees and brings them from the forest; he cuts thatching grass in the forest, or buys it from somewhere. He fixes nine posts in the ground; thereupon he puts up three roof-beams; at three places he fixes double cross-beams, he fixes forty rafters, and in three places, at the top, in the middle, and at the bottom of these, he puts cross-laths. Thereupon he makes the rafter-framework and after this thatches. Then he makes a wattle and daub wall; having done this he puts up something to keep separate the place for the ancestors. The wife then kneads earth and smears this on; afterwards she fills the house inside with earth and plasters all smooth, and she makes a fire-place. The husband makes a door, of wood or of thin bamboo-slips. In the house they have two bedsteads, a wooden mortar and pestle, a winnowing-fan, baskets, brooms, earthenware vessels, big and small, ladles made of wood or of pumpkin-shell, kodali axe, chisel, adze, sickle, knife, plough-beam, yoke, plough and plough-share, flute, bow and arrows, battle-axe, sword and dancing-drum and kettle-drum. Poor people have no battle-axe, sword, dancing-drum, or kettle-drum.

The sacred closet is for the ancestors to stay hidden in. Women belonging to other men are not permitted to go in there; and some people do not permit even their own daughters to go in there, that is, when they have been married. In this closet they make a small enclosure, and this is the real place for the ancestors to stay hidden in. In the closet money is also kept. On the backside of the house they have the homestead field; here they cultivate maize. And in front of the house towards the village street they have the court-yard. This they fence securely in on the four sides. They make two openings for going out and in, one is the homestead field door and one the village street door.

The man builds a shed for the cows and bullocks and buffaloes, a fold for the goats and sheep and a sty for the pigs. The fowls and the cat stay in the house, and the dog stays somewhere on the verandah, to guard the house.

[illegible] - Building.

2; Skrefsrud M-5 (1870-1871) 1942 AW42 Santal AW42

602 Every year in the month of Daśe (Aug.—Sept.) husband and wife go round to visit their relatives, even when they live very far away, in so far as they know of them, provided they have grown-up sons in their home, otherwise only the man will go. The meaning of visiting relatives is this: that they may not be lost to each other.

Any time they are in want of resources, the relatives on the man's side and those on the woman's side will help each other, when they live in harmony with each other, whether it be in connexion with food or with draught-cattle. And when some among the 602 relatives become orphans, or they are in straits, at such times relatives who have the means 736 will take care of them, or they will divide their own land and fields with them. But such people who are rescued from poverty and difficulties, are mostly ungrateful; only a few people show gratitude. If these ungrateful persons put on just a little flesh, they will show you the thumb (defy you), they may let you go adrift. They will say: Do you imagine that you have supported me, until I have become full grown; why, I have been supported by my own strength. At any time when you are in need, they will leave you in the lurch. They grow up, then look, off they are. But such people will some day get their retribution, if not they themselves, then their children.

602 What women have really to rely on, is their father and male relatives. When husband and wife do not live in harmony, or when the husband worries and beats his wife, or somebody calls her a witch, then she will cry out to her father and male relatives, and they will stand up for her. This is their right, because on the day of her marriage they have stipulated for this. Without informing her father and male relatives they do not go to a witch-finder. And if these are not satisfied with one witch-finder, they will take them to five such places. Because of this the women have great trust in their father and male relatives.

1. When husband or wife dies.

428 If the mother dies before her children are married, then even if their father has got 592 a second wife, the sons cannot demand a division. But if the sons at that time are married, they can, if they wish, set up separate households. The village council meet and divide the property; the father gets one part, and the sons one part each. In case the second wife has not borne the man a male child before he dies, then after his death the sons of the first wife can take possession also of the part left by the father. If they take possession of this, they will have to perform the final funeral ceremonies for their stepmother, when she dies.

428 If any woman becomes a widow without having borne any male child, the father or the 736 male relatives of the man get all the property; the woman gets only one calf, one bundle of paddy, one brass-cup and a cloth, and she leaves and goes to the house of her father and brothers. In such a difficult position some people will keep an elder brother's wife; they will not let her go to the home of her father and brothers. Santals call this very good.

St Culshaw M-S (1932-1943) 1949 AW42 Santal AW42

for their timber. The *sarjom*, which predominates, is a valuable tree, but locally it has not been permitted to grow to any height. The trees are cut once in seven years and the timber is exported chiefly to supply firewood in the towns, while the leaf is used for the leaf plates required in city homes and food shops. This activity provides the main subsidiary occupation and is in full swing whenever work in the fields slackens, though it is not sufficient to keep the Santals at home throughout the year. Women share in the occupation; they help the men by stacking the timber as it is cut into lengths, and they collect the leaves which older women sew together while sitting at home. Other women, in the time they can spare from duties at home, collect the twigs and dry branches which they need for domestic fuel. Boys from about the age of seven are engaged in their occupation of tending the village herd of goats and cattle, for which they receive wages from the owners of one anna per month for each goat and two annas per month for each head of cattle in their charge. They are sometimes joined by the younger girls, but after the girls are nine or ten they stay with their mothers, look after the house or help to nurse the younger children.

Women play little or no part in the organization of social or religious life, but they are supreme in household affairs. Although men lay claim to superior intelligence and women openly disclaim any knowledge or interest in affairs outside the home circle, the attitude of the two groups towards each other is one of good-natured tolerance. In Barikul, at the close of a festival when there had been much drinking, the men were feeling unwell. Babulal reports: "Some of the men are saying: 'Yesterday I had nothing to eat, so give me something today.' To which the women reply: 'We have eaten all the food; you men are drunk!' And so they drank more beer and spirits, and became even more drunken than they had been the day before." In his diary entry for the next day he records: "Today all the drunks have begun to beg for some stale rice gruel. The women scolded them: 'You have earned a lot of food, haven't you? Why should you not go out to beg?' " After this chaffing the women relented and gave the men some food before they set out once more to their work. The Santal wife attends fairs and markets; she buys her own clothes and attends to the household shopping. The contrast between them and their non-Santal neighbours is heightened by the fact that they do not cover their heads. One end of the *sari* is thrown loosely across the breasts and over the left shoulder.